

Message Text

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SUBJECT: THE TINDEMANS REPORT

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1. BEGIN SUMMARY. IN HIS REPORT TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON EUROPEAN UNION, BELGIAN PRIME MINISTER TINDEMANS HAS DELIBERATELY AVOIDED CONSTITUTIONAL PRESCRIPTIONS FOR A FUTURE EUROPEAN UNION. HE ASSERTS THAT IT IS NOW MORE IMPORTANT TO REACH AGREEMENT ON COMMON EUROPEAN AIMS; AND SEES HIS REPORT AS AN EFFORT TO SET FORTH OBJECTIVES AND METHODS WHEREBY EUROPE "CAN BE INVESTED WITH A NEW VITALITY AND CURRENT OBSTACLES CAN BE OVERCOME." TINDEMANS STRESSES THE NEED TO CARRY OUT "QUALITATIVE CHANGES" IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE EUROPEAN UNION, AND THEN PROCEEDS TO DEFINE THESE "CHANGES" IN TERMS OF HIS SPECIFIC PROPOSALS FOR COMMON POLICIES AND INSTITUTIONAL IMPROVEMENTS. IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN RELATIONS EUROPEAN UNION MEANS THE NINE MUST MOVE FROM COORDINATION OF THEIR FOREIGN POLICIES, WHICH

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UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES PERMITS THE PURSUIT OF SEPARATE

POLICIES WHEN COORDINATION FAILS, TO THE FORMATION OF A COMMON FOREIGN POLICY BASED ON THE "OBLIGATION TO REACH A COMMON POINT OF VIEW." TINDEMANS ASSERTS THAT THIS MEANS THAT THE MINORITY MUST RALLY TO THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY IN IMPLEMENTING FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS. A SUMMARY OF THE MAIN ELEMENTS OF THE TINDEMANS REPORT FOLLOWS. (THE REPORT'S SECTIONS ON US-EC RELATIONS, AND ON DEFENSE ARE REPORTED IN SEPTELS.)
END SUMMARY

2. TOWARDS A COMMON FOREIGN POLICY: ALLUDING TO THE CONCERN OF EUROPEANS WITH EUROPE'S VULNERABILITY AND RELATIVE IMPOTENCE THE REPORT CITES EXTERNAL RELATIONS AS ONE OF THE MAIN REASONS FOR BUILDING EUROPE AND ADVOCATES THE CREATION OF A SINGLE DECISION-MAKING CENTER TO CARRY OUT EXTERNAL POLICY. IT CALLS UPON THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL TO PUT AN END TO THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN MINISTERIAL MEETINGS DEALING WITH POLITICAL COOPERATION AND THOSE DEALING WITH SUBJECTS COVERED BY THE TREATIES AND ASSERTS THAT THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE "UNION" SHOULD DISCUSS ALL PROBLEMS RELEVANT TO EUROPEAN INTERESTS. TINDEMANS ALSO SUGGESTS CHANGING THE POLITICAL COMMITMENT OF THE MEMBER STATES, WHICH IS THE BASIS OF POLITICAL COOPERATION, INTO A LEGAL OBLIGATION.

3. CALLING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF A COMMON FOREIGN POLICY, THE REPORT SUGGESTS THAT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL HAS A "VITAL ROLE TO PLAY IN MAKING GENERAL POLICY STATEMENTS BASED ON GLOBAL POLITICAL CONCEPTS." THE REPORT REFERS TO THE PRESENT PRACTICE OF FOREIGN POLICY COORDINATION AND RECOMMENDS THE MEMBER STATES AGREE ON FORMULATION OF A SINGLE EXTERNAL POLICY WHICH WOULD INVOLVE AN OBLIGATION ON THE PART OF THE MINORITY TO "RALLY TO THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY."

4. TINDEMANS INDICATES THAT THE FOUR AREAS OF FOREMOST CONCERN TO THE COMMUNITY IN EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ARE: A) A NEW ECONOMIC WORLD ORDER, B) RELATIONS BETWEEN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES; C) SECURITY AND D) THE CRISES OCCURRING WITHIN EUROPE'S IMMEDIATE GEOGRAPHICAL SURROUNDINGS. (US-EC RELATIONS AND SECURITY HAVE BEEN REPORTED IN SEPTELS).

5. NEW ECONOMIC ORDER: TINDEMANS URGES THE DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT DELAY OF A COMMON EXTERNAL POLICY FOR DEALING WITH COUNTRIES OF UNCLASSIFIED

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THE THIRD WORLD. SUGGESTING THAT NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE THIRD WORLD HAVE SCARCELY BEGUN AND THAT BILATERAL DIPLOMACY IS INEFFECTIVE IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, THE REPORT PROPOSES THAT "COME WHAT MAY", THE COMMUNITY SHOULD BE UNITED AT MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS AND MEETINGS. TINDEMANS CONTINUES BY SUGGESTING THE STRENGTHENING OF THE COMMUNITY'S TOOLS FOR JOINT ACTION BY GRADUALLY TRANSFERRING TO THE COMMUNITY A SUBSTANTIAL PART OF NATIONAL APPROPRIATIONS FOR DEVELOPMENT AID.

6. CRISES IN THE EUROPEAN REGION: TINDEMANS STRESSES THE IMPORTANCE TO THE EUROPEAN UNION OF "POLITICAL PROBLEMS ARISING IN EUROPE AND THE MEDITERRANEAN", AND THE FACT THAT THROUGH POLITICAL COOPERATION THE NINE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO ADOPT COMMON POLICIES ON THE MIDEAST, CYPRUS AND PORTUGAL WHICH HAVE GIVEN ADDED WEIGHT TO THEIR VIEWS. HE PROPOSES HENCEFORTH THAT THE NINE RESOLVE, AS A GENERAL RULE, TO ACT IN ACCORDANCE

WITH A COMMON POLICY IN ALL CASES WHERE IMPORTANT POLITICAL PROBLEMS, OR CRISES ARISE IN EUROPE OR THE MEDITERRANEAN. TINDEMANS FURTHER STATES THAT "WE MUST PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THOSE EUROPEAN COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM SIMILAR TO OURS," AND THAT THE EC SHOULD ESTABLISH RELATIONS WITH THESE COUNTRIES WHICH WOULD MAKE POSSIBLE INFORMAL COOPERATION ON POLITICAL QUESTIONS AND THEREBY "FACILITATE THE ACCESSION OF THOSE STATES WISHING TO JOIN."

7. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL POLICIES: TINDEMANS NOTES THAT ALTHOUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION HAS BEEN A COMMUNITY GOAL SINCE 1969, THE COMMUNITY HAS NOT PROGRESSED IN THIS FIELD IN RECENT YEARS. UNTIL IT DOES, EUROPEAN UNION WILL BE MEANINGLESS. WHAT IS NEEDED IS A POLITICAL CONSENSUS REGARDING ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY, SECTORAL POLICIES, AND SOCIAL AND REGIONAL POLICIES. TINDEMANS SAYS ALL HE SPOKE TO AGREED THAT ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY WAS THE CRUX OF INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNION BUT NO ONE CLAIMED TO HAVE FOUND AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION. HE BELIEVES THAT NOW THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL SHOULD INITIATE DISCUSSIONS ON ECONOMIC AND MONETARY POLICY WITHIN THE INSTITUTIONS, SETTING ASIDE NO PROPOSALS BEGIN UNDERLINE A PRIORI. END UNDERLINE. WITHOUT, HOWEVER, WAITING FOR THE RESULTS OF THESE DISCUSSIONS, THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL SHOULD INSTIGATE POSITIVE PROGRESS ALONG THE ROAD SELECTED IN 1969. UNCLASSIFIED

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8. THE REPORT RECOGNIZES THAT THE DIVERGENCE IN ECONOMIC AND MONETARY SITUATIONS AMONG THE MEMBER STATES IS SUCH THAT THEY CAN NOT MOVE TOWARDS ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION AT THE SAME RATE. TINDEMANS ARGUES, HOWEVER, THAT AN OVERALL CONCEPT CAN NOW BE ACCEPTED AND AN ACTION PROGRAM DRAWN UP UNDER WHICH THOSE STATES WHICH CAN MOVE AHEAD SHOULD DO SO. OTHERS, WITH THE CONSENT OF THE COUNCIL, NEED NOT.

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EACH COUNTRY WILL BE BOUND TO THE FINAL OBJECTIVE HOWEVER;
ONLY THE TIMETABLE WILL VARY.

9. TINDEMANS SEES THE "COMMUNITY SNAKE" AS CENTRAL TO PROGRESS IN THIS AREA. HE BELIEVES IT MUST BE CONSOLIDATED AND EXTENDED, BUT IN A DISTINCTLY COMMUNITY FRAMEWORK. MEMBER STATES NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE SNAKE WILL BE BROUGHT INTO DELIBERATIONS CONCERNING ITS USE. OBLIGATIONS SIMILAR TO THOSE OF THE SNAKE IN EXTERNAL MONETARY POLICY MUST BE EXTENDED TO INTERNAL MONETARY, FINANCIAL, BUDGETARY AND ECONOMIC POLICIES. TINDEMANS BELIEVES ONE BENEFIT FROM THIS STRENGTHENED SNAKE WILL BE THE REDUCTION OF FLUCTUATIONS AMONG LEADING CURRENCIES, PARTICULARLY BETWEEN THE SNAKE AND THE DOLLAR. HE ARGUES THAT THE EUROPEAN MONETARY COOPERATION FUND SHOULD GRADUALLY BECOME RESPONSIBLE FOR THE INTERVENTION POLICY OF THE SNAKE VIS-A-VIS THE DOLLAR.

10. TINDEMANS RECOGNIZES THAT ACHIEVING ECONOMIC AND MONETARY UNION WILL BE A LENGTHY BUSINESS BUT BELIEVES THAT CON-

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CRETE ACTION NOW WILL MAKE IT EASIER TO TAKE LARGER STEPS LATER. THE COMMISSION SHOULD SUBMIT AN ANNUAL REPORT TO THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ON PROGRESS MADE IN THIS AREA AND SHOULD PROPOSE NEW MEASURES.

11. IN SECTORAL POLICY, TINDEMANS SINGLES OUT ENERGY AND RESEARCH AS BEING AT THE HEART OF THE COMMUNITY'S FUTURE. IN ENERGY HE CALLS FOR A POLICY PROVIDING FOR SOLIDARITY IN SUPPLY DIFFICULTIES, DEFINING CONSUMPTION AND PRODUCTION TARGETS, DEVELOPMENT OF ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES IN LIGHT OF THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, PROTECTION OF INVESTMENT TO DEVELOP NEW PRODUCTION CAPACITY, COMMUNITY FINANCING FOR ALTERNATIVE SOURCES, AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION OF THE MARKET. WITH SUCH A PROGRAM THE COMMUNITY WILL BE ABLE TO PURSUE A COHERENT EXTERNAL ENERGY POLICY. THE REPORT ACKNOWLEDGES THE COMMUNITY'S RESEARCH EFFORT HAS BEEN MEAGER AND ARGUES IT MUST BE STRENGTHENED. IT MUST BE CONCENTRATED ON PRIORITY SECTORS SUCH AS THOSE DIRECTLY CONNECTED TO A UNION POLICY (E.G., ENVIRONMENT), CONNECTED TO A UNION ACTIVITY (E.G., DEVELOPING ALTERNATIVE ENERGY SOURCES), OR AREAS TOO COSTLY FOR INDIVIDUAL STATES (E.G., THERMO-NUCLEAR FUSION).

12. BENEFITS TO CITIZENS: TINDEMANS SAYS THE UNION HAS AN OBLIGATION TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF EUROPEANS WHERE THEY CANNOT BE PROTECTED BY THE MEMBER STATES AND CALLS ON THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL TO INSTRUCT THE INSTITUTIONS TO MAKE PROPOSALS IN THIS REGARD. SPECIFICALLY, HE SAYS CITIZENS SHOULD HAVE A RIGHT TO APPEAL DIRECTLY TO THE COURT OF JUSTICE AGAINST AN ACT OF AN INSTITUTION WHICH VIOLATES HIS RIGHTS. THE REPORT ARGUES THAT EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY MUST BE EXPRESSED BY EXTERNAL SIGNS DISCERNABLE IN EVERYDAY LIFE. AS EXAMPLES, HE CITES UNIFORM PASSPORTS, GRADUAL DISAPPEARANCE OF FRONTIER CONTROLS, IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS ET AL. THE REPORT ALSO CALLS FOR GREATER INTEGRATION AMONG EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND COLLABORATION BETWEEN ELEMENTS OF THE MEDIA. THIS LAST, TINDEMANS BELIEVES, WILL BE OF PARTICULAR SIGNIFICANCE IN CONNECTION WITH DIRECT ELECTION TO THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. HE RECOGNIZES THAT SOME OF THE ACTIVITIES HE HAS SUGGESTED CAN BE CARRIED OUT BY PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND HE PROPOSED THAT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL SHOULD CREATE A EUROPEAN FOUNDATION TO PROMOTE ACTIVITIES DESIGNED TO BRING

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EUROPEANS CLOSER TOGETHER. IT WOULD BE FINANCED PARTIALLY BY THE COMMUNITY OR THE MEMBER STATES BUT TO A LARGE EXTENT FROM PRIVATE FUNDS.

13. REFORMING THE INSTITUTIONS: THE REPORT URGES THE STRENGTHENING OF EXISTING COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS, RATHER THAN THE CREATION OF A NEW STRUCTURE TO SERVE EUROPEAN UNION. THE REPORT

STRESSES THAT WHAT IS NEEDED IS NOT MERELY TO IMPROVE THE COOPERATION MECHANISMS AMONG THE MEMBER STATES BUT TO ENDOW THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE COMMUNITY WITH SUFFICIENT AUTHORITY TO ENABLE THEM TO DEFINE AND PURSUE POLICIES ON A EUROPEAN-WIDE BASIS.

14. TINDEMANS CALLS FOR A GRADUAL INCREASE IN THE POWERS OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND POINTS OUT THAT IT MUST PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE CREATION OF UNION. SPECIFICALLY, THE REPORT SUGGESTS THAT THE COUNCIL IMMEDIATELY AGREE TO CONSIDER ALL PARLIAMENTARY RESOLUTIONS ADDRESSED TO IT SO AS TO PERMIT THE EP TO MAKE AN EFFECTIVE CONTRIBUTION TO DEFINING COMMON POLICIES. IT SUGGESTS THAT THE PARLIAMENT, BY TREATY AMENDMENT, BE GIVEN POWER TO CONSIDER ALL QUESTIONS WITHIN THE COMPETENCE OF THE UNION. THE REPORT SUGGESTS THAT THE PARLIAMENT HOLD "GENERAL ORIENTATION DEBATES" AT LEAST ONCE A YEAR AND THAT LEADING POLITICIANS IN THE MEMBER STATES SHOULD BE PERMITTED TO PARTICIPATE EVEN IF THEY ARE NOT EP MEMBERS.

15. TINDEMANS SUGGESTS THAT THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL SHOULD BE TO MAKE "COHERENT GLOBAL POLICY STATEMENTS" AND TO PROVIDE THE MOMENTUM NEEDED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE. HE SUGGESTS THAT ALL DECISIONS TAKEN AT THIS LEVEL BE SPECIFICALLY ADDRESSED TO THE RELEVANT INSTITUTION FOR ACTION AND THAT IF NECESSARY SET TIME PERIODS FOR IMPLEMENTATION BE DEFINED.

16. TINDEMANS URGES THE ABOLITION OF THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN "POLITICAL COOPERATION" MATTERS AND THOSE SUBJECTS WITHIN THE TREATIES AND CALLS FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE EC COUNCIL'S COMPETENCE TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH POLITICAL MATTERS. THE REPORT CALLS FOR MAKING THE WEIGHTED MAJORITY VOTING PROCEDURE THE NORM WHEN THE EC COUNCIL DEALS WITH TREATY BUSINESS.

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NESS. FINALLY, THE REPORT PROPOSES INCREASING FROM SIX MONTHS TO ONE YEAR THE TERM OF OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENCY IN ORDER TO PROMOTE GREATER CONTINUITY.

17. THE REPORT RECOMMENDS THE COMMISSION MAKE UNRESERVED USE OF THE POWERS GIVEN IT BY THE PRESENT TREATIES, AND RE-ASSERT ITS FREEDOM TO TAKE ACTION WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF AGREED POLICY. TINDEMANS SUGGESTS THAT THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL ASK THE COUNCIL AND THE COMMISSION TO EXAMINE AREAS WHERE THE LATTER MIGHT ASSUME ADDITIONAL POWERS IN ACCORDANCE WITH ARTICLE 155 OF THE ROME TREATY. THE REPORT FURTHER SUGGESTS THAT THE TREATIES BE MODIFIED TO CHANGE THE MANNER IN WHICH THE COMMISSION IS SELECTED BY HAVING THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED BY THE EUROPEAN COUNCIL AND CONFIRMED

BY THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. OTHER COMMISSIONERS WOULD THEN BE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE COMMISSION IN CONSULTATION WITH THE COUNCIL, WHILE PRESERVING THE PRESENT SYSTEM OF ALLOCATING COMMISSION SLOTS AMONG THE MEMBER STATES. TINDEMANS URGES THAT THIS NEW SELECTION PROCESS BE PUT INTO OPERATION--IN ADVANCE OF THE REQUIRED TREATY AMENDMENTS--SO THAT IT CAN APPLY TO THE COMMISSION TAKING OFFICE ON JANUARY 1, 1977.

18. THE TINDEMANS REPORT MAKES FEW SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE COURT OF JUSTICE BUT DOES POINT OUT THAT ONCE EUROPEAN UNION HAS GAINED ITS OWN MOMENTUM, THE COMMUNITY'S CURRENT LEGAL SYSTEM SHOULD BE EXAMINED TO SEE IF IT CAN BE IMPROVED OR EXTENDED.

19. THE REPORT SUGGESTS THAT THE IMPORTANCE DECISION-MAKING ROLE PLAYED BY THE COMMITTEE OF PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVES (COREPER) BE "OFFICIALLY RECOGNIZED" AND FURTHER SUGGESTS THAT DECISIONS REACHED AT THE COREPER LEVEL NEED NOT, AS AT PRESENT, BE SUBSEQUENTLY APPROVED FORMALLY BY THE COUNCIL.
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